1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 When a man crosses the Paikara or Avalanche rivers he must usually do so *kevenarut*, with his right arm outside his mantle, but if he has the mantle over his head as a sign of mourning he merely protrudes his right hand, so that it can be seen below the mantle. Similarly, the throwing of water done by *matchuni* (see p. 501), when they cross these rivers on certain days, is not done by people of a family in which there has been a death—*i.e.*, not between the two funerals—but they only chew the grass, which is the preliminary act of the ceremony.

[769] The mourner who has his head covered has certain restrictions in regard to his food. A widower is not allowed to eat rice nor drink milk, and on every return of the day of the week on which his wife died he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow. This fasting on each weekly return of the day of death suggests that some rite is, or used to be, performed on this day, but I did not obtain an account of any such ceremony. The day of the week on which a man dies is always observed by his children, and is called *arpatsnol*.

234 764 793 The *wursol* who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office by so doing, and becomes a *perol*. Similarly, if a *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh* wish to attend the funeral of a relative, he can only do so by giving up his office, and this is a common cause of change in the various dairies. The dairyman who has thus given up his office often resumes it when the funeral ceremonies are completed, and if he expresses his intention of returning, the temporary occupant is often said to be doing the work for the other.

765 Between the two funerals it is the duty of every Toda who was not present at the *etvainolkedr* to salute the remains. When anyone visits the village where the remains are kept for this purpose the cloth containing the relics is brought out and the visitor bows down and touches the cloth with his forehead, just as is done with the body at the funeral. When I visited the village at which the *kedr* of Olidjeimi was being kept my Toda guide took the opportunity of performing his duty to the remains, and I was able to witness the reverent way in which the duty is performed. While I was on the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Similarly, women who wish to leave the village on a holy day do so before daybreak. They wait outside the village till the sun is up, then return to the village, have their meals and do any necessary work, and may then leave. Having left the village before daybreak, a woman is apparently regarded as ceremonially absent during her return to the village, and by making this false start she is held to be keeping the law.

If there is an urgent reason why a woman from another village should come on a *madnol*, she must arrive after sunset.

If any of these rules[1] are broken, the culprit may have to perform the ceremony of *irnörtiti* or one of the other allied rites. It seemed quite clear, however, that this only happened if some misfortune should befall the offender, his family, or his buffaloes. It would seem that a man might habitually and notoriously desecrate the *madnol*, but no steps would be taken by himself or the community so long as things went well with the man. If he should become ill or if his buffaloes should suffer in any way, he would consult the diviners and they would then certainly find that his misfortunes were due to his infringement of the laws connected with the sacred days.

As a matter of fact, it does not happen, so far as I could find, that anyone habitually infringes the laws, and breaking the *madnol* or *palinol* rarely forms an occasion for the *irnörtiti* ceremony.

The arpatznol.

Another sacred day is the *arpatznol* or *arpasnol*. This is the day of the week on which the father of a man has died. The father of Kutadri and Kòdrner died on a Friday, and every Friday is the *arpatznol* of these men. I could not learn definitely what are the restrictions for this day, but they seem to be of the same kind as those for the *madnol*, though I am doubtful whether they are very strictly kept. Kutadri and Kòdrner once drove their buffaloes from Kars to Isharadr on a Friday; the buffaloes were sick, and they moved them without thinking that it was their *arpatznol*.

[1] [pertaining to the observance of the village holy days.--- Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

527 Soon after Kòdrner fell ill and one of the buffaloes died, and
769 the *tenol* found that the desecration of the *arpatsnol* was one of
787 the causes, though they had also bought things on a Monday, the *madnol* of Kars.

527 There is much variety in the days appointed as the *madnol* or *palinol* of different villages and clans. My records are very incomplete, but they show the most frequent days to be Wednesday and Friday, which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, and Thursday in two, while in no clan, so far as my records go, is Saturday a holy day.

527 It will have been noticed that funeral ceremonies may
764 not be held on a *madnol*, and it seems to be exceptional that
796 funeral ceremonies should take place on one of the dairy days. There is very little doubt that it is the prohibition of funerals on village and dairy days which chiefly determines the choice of funeral days. Thus, at Nidrsi, Wednesday is the *madnol*, Monday is the *wursulinol*, Friday is the *tarvalinol*, while the funeral of a male is held on Saturday or Sunday and that of a female on Tuesday or Thursday. Similarly, the village and dairy days of Melgars are Monday and Friday, while the funeral days for males are Sunday and Tuesday, for females Thursday and Saturday. At Kwòdrdoni, the village and dairy days are Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday, the funeral days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.

In a few cases, it would seem that funerals may be held on dairy days; thus, at Kars Monday is the *madnol*, Tuesday the *wursulinol*, and Thursday the *kudrpalinol*, while the funeral days for males are Sundays and Tuesdays, for females Thursdays and Saturdays. If a *mani* is used, however, a male funeral must be held on Sunday, and I suspect that the holding of a male funeral on Tuesday is an innovation, and probably the same holds good for the choice of Thursday as a funeral day for females.

The funeral rites are not the only ceremonies which have their appointed days. Nearly every ceremonial occasion among the Todas has its prescribed day, and of these ceremonial days Sunday seems to occupy an especially favoured position. As many ceremonies are appointed for this day as

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

172 interfere with these places, and they exhibited the indifference
183 which led the explorers to suppose that there was no connexion of any kind between the Todas and the monuments.[1]

776 Although the Toda deities seem to be in general a development of hill-spirits, there can be little doubt that some of the gods are deified men. In the case of Kwoten, the account of his life is so circumstantial as to leave little doubt that he was a real man who was deified after a mysterious disappearance, believed to have been due to intercourse with a female deity, and around whose life there have clustered certain miraculous incidents. Similarly, his servant Erten, and his relatives Teikuteidi and Elnakhum are probably deified men.

Another possible instance of a deified man is Kwoto or Meilitars. The account of his life is again so circumstantial that it seems most likely that he was an exceptional man who was deified while various incidents in his life acquired a miraculous setting. It is perhaps in favour of the comparatively recent origin of these gods that objects belonging to them, or which come into their lives in some way, are still preserved, and perhaps a still more cogent argument in favour of the recent deification of Kwoten is the fact that the prohibition against marriage between the clans of Pan and Kanòdrs, believed to be due to the murder of Parden by Kwoten, still persists.

Of these deified mortals one became associated with a definite hill while the other was not assigned any special hill, but it was believed that all places should form his province.

769 There is little doubt that these mortals were deified as
771 heroes and not as ancestors, and there is little to indicate that
776 ancestor-worship has played any part in the evolution of the Toda religion. When a person dedicated a buffalo on account of some fault committed, it seemed that the action might be spoken of indifferently as dedication to the gods or to the ancestors of the dedicator. Thus, when Teitnir gave a

[1] I do not intend by this to indicate my belief that these cairns are ancient Toda monuments. I only wish to point out that one of the arguments which has been directed against this view is probably not valid. I shall return to this point in a future chapter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grandfathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence. 769 771 776

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men. [775]

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personifications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence whatever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces. 771 776

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurziilnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual 776 778

[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other.

One of the most obscure of Toda ceremonies is that called *tersamptpimi*, which is performed together with or later than the ceremony of name-giving when a child is about three months old. The chief feature of the ceremony is that a lock of the child's hair is cut by the maternal uncle of the child, the hair of a Tarthar child being cut with a piece of sharpened iron called *kanab*, while the hair of a Teivali child is cut with an ordinary knife. The special interest, however, for our present purpose lies in the fact that this ceremony must be performed on the day after the second funeral of a Tarthar man, and this whether the child be Tarthar or Teivali.

This ceremony points to the existence of a belief in the influence of the spirit of the dead man, and I have already (p. 404) given reasons why it is probable that this influence should be regarded as good rather than bad. But, whether good or bad, we are left wholly without a clue why this influence should be exerted by the ghosts of the Tartharol and not by those of the Teivaliol.

In the ceremonies connected with childbirth the ritual of one division differs from that of the other more widely than in any other case. The most striking difference is that the ceremonial of the artificial dairy is limited to the Tartharol, and here again it is possible that the difference is a secondary consequence of the difference in dairy organisation. In the chapter dealing with these ceremonies, I have thrown out the conjecture that the use of an artificial dairy, and of threads from the *madtuni*, or sacred dairy garment, may be a survival of a time when women had more to do with the dairy ritual than they have at present; and if there is anything in this conjecture, it would point to this connexion of women with the dairy having been limited to the Tartharol, or to its having persisted longer in this division.

The fact that a Tarthar woman drinks milk drawn by a Melgars man, while a Teivali woman drinks water which is assumed to be the milk of a pregnant buffalo, again brings the differences into relation with the dairy ritual, but another

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against.

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kĕdu.

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water is poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation.

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat.

[9] Nirrh. Nirru = *sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [POPE.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.